

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

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R 311730Z JUL 74

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9289

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USEUCOM

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

DIA WASHDC DI-5

S E C R E T NICOSIA 2043

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT CY TUR GR

SUBJECT: SENTIMENT FROM GREEK CYPRIOT "INS" AND "OUTS"

SUMMARY: EMBASSY SUBMITS SAMPLING OF GREEK  
CYPRIOT "ESTABLISHMENT" OPINION, MOSTLY ON  
ISSUE MAKARIOS RETURN WHICH ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY  
OPPOSED. END SUMMARY.

1. MOST SECTIONS OF GREEK CYPRIOT OPINION WITH WHOM EMBASSY IN  
CONTACT AGREE THAT MAKARIOS MUST NOT RNT NOT RETURN TO CYPRIS. THIS  
SEMTIMENT BECOMES MORE QUALIFIED AS ONE MOVES AWAY FROM POLITICAL  
RIGHT. AT FAR LEFT OF SPECTUM, COMMUNISH AKEL CAREFULLY HEDGES  
MAKARIOS ISSUE WHIEL SUPPORTING CLERIDES AS "STEP TOWARD TREUTN  
OF OUR CONTRY TO CONSITUTIONAL ORDER". (PER PARTY DECLARATION  
OF JULY 27). WE UNDERSTAND LYSSARIDES FACTION DAOMATICALLY  
INSISTS ON MAKARIOS RETURN. REPORTEDLY THERE ARE OTHER PRO-  
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MAKARIOS BANDS, ARMED AND WAITING FOR SINGAL TO MOVE, WHICH SO FAR

HAVE LAIN LOW. (WE HAVE NO RPT NO CONTACT WITH LATTER TWO GROUPS).

2. AMONG BROAD CENTER GROUP, WIDESPREAD FEELING AGAINST MAKARIOS' RETURN REFLECTS FEAR OF CIVIL WAR RATHER THAN COMMENT ON HIS MERITS AS PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS. SEK LABOR FEDERATION AND PEMA/PEON (FIGHTERS' GROUP) LEADERSHIPS, BOTH STRONG MAKARIOS SUPPORTERS IN PAST, FIRMLY INSIST NOW THAT HIS RETURN IS OUT OF QUESTION. (BOTH GROUPS HAD BEGUN TO SPLIT INTERNALLY OVER MAKARIOS POLICIES TOWARD GREECE IN MONTHS JUST BEFORE JULY 15 COUP.) SEK LEADER IOANNOU CLAIMS THERE STRONG GRASSROOTS SENTIMENT AGAINST MAKARIOS FOR HIS ACTIONS AND STATEMENTS SINCE COUP WHICH GAVE INDIRECT PROPAGANDA SUPPORTING TO TURKS.

3. MORE MODERATE OPINION COMES FROM LELLOS DEMETRIADES, ERSTWHILE MAYOR OF NICOSIA (HE STILL HOPES CLERIDES WILL RE-STORE HIM), WHO BELIEVES MAKARIOS SHOULD NOT RETURN AND THAT HE SHOULD BE PERSUADED TO KEEP QUIET. HE INSISTED THAT KARAMNLIS SHOULD WITHDRAW THE GREEK OFFICERS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COUP, THAT CLERIDES MUST CHANGE HIS CABINET AND QUICKLY SHOW HIMSELF NOT TO BE PUPPET OF RIGHTISTS IF OPEN RIGHT-LEFT CONTLFICT IS TO BE AVOIDED. LESSOS HIMSELF IS LEFT OF THE CENTER OF CYPRIOT POLITICS (HE ONCE GOT IN TROUBLE FOR ADVOCATING "CSJUSI OR THE CYPRIOTS"), BUT NOT A "MAKARIOS MAN." WHEN DCM POINTED OUT THAT NIETHER KARAMANLIS NOR CLERIDES MAY HAVE POLITICAL ROOM TO MOVE SHARP LY AGAINST RIGHTISTS, DEMETRIADES SARJ "THEN THERE WILL BE TROUBLE." HE WAS PARTICULARLY BITTER THAT CLERIDES ALLOWED RIGHTISTS SPYROS PAPAGEORGHIOU AND FRIXOS VRACHAS TO BE APPOINTED HEADS TO CBC AND PIO. HE THOUGHT ELECTIONS SHOULD BE POSTPONED TO AVOID ADDING TO DIVISIONS.

4. MICHAEL COLOCASSIDES, MAKARIOS' MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, WAS RELAXED AND GLAD TO BE OUT OF THE POLITICAL GAME, BUT STILL VERY MUCH A MAKARIOS SUPPORTER BY INSITICT. HE RUMMAGED AROUND MR WAYS IN WHICH ARCHBISHOP COULD CINTUE TO PLAY A PLITICAL ROLE, BUT WOULD UP EXPRESSING HOPE THAT ARCHBISHOP WOULD NOT RETURN NOW, THAT IF HE RETURNED IT WOULD ONLY BE TO SERVE BRIEFLY AS PRESIDENT BEFORE STEPPING DOWN AND RETURING TO SECRET

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THE ECCLESIASTICAL LIU. (A MOST UNLIKELY SCENARIO).

A. COLOCASSIDES, LIKE EVERYBODY ELSE, SEEMED RESIGNED TO THE TURKS' CONTINUING TO OCCUPY WHAT THEY HADE TAKEN, AND HE MENTIONED THAT THE NEGITIATING SITUATION WAS "180 DEGREES REVERSED", BUT HE WOULD RATHER NOT ACCEPT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE STATEMENTS. HE POINTED OUT HOW DIFFICULT IT WOULD BE FOR THE GREEKS TO ACCEPT THE TURKS' MINIMAL DEMANDS, AND HE HOPED VAGUELY FOR SOME US SUPPORT.

IT WAS ONLY WHEN ASKED TO DESCRIBE THE ALTERNATIVES TO LIVING WITH INCREASED TURKISH POWER THAT HE SAID, WITH RESIGNATION, THAT THERE WERE NONE. HE PREDICTED A CONSIDERABLE LOSS OF CONFIDENCE IN CYPRUS, WITH CONCOMITANT CAPITAL FLIGHT AND A REDUCED PROSPECT FOR INVESTMENT IN THE ISLAND.

B. ON INTRA-GREEK SIDE, COLOCCASIDES EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR CLERIDES. MORE THAN DEMETRIADES, HE RECOGNIZED THAT CLERIDES WAS IN A BIND. HE DESCRIBED CLERIDES' PROBLEM AS HOW TO TEMPORIZE WITHOUT LOSING THE SUPPORT OF THE CENTER, WHILE AT SAME TIME TO AVOID ALLOWING THE RIGHT TO CONSOLIDATE ITS POWER OVER THE GOVERNMENT. AS JOHN CRISTOPHIDES AND OTHERS HAVE DONE, HE HOPED FOR SOME SOLUTION FROM ATHENS. HE WANTED KARAMLIS TO REPLACE THE GREEK OFFICERS WHO HAD LED THE COUP AND WERE STILL MINIPULATING THE LOCAL SITUATION. HE THOUGHT KARAMANLIS SHOULD ALSO EXPRESS HIS SUPPORT FOR CLERIDES. HE WAS SURPRISED WHEN DCM REMARKED THAT KARAMANLIS POSITION IS PROBABLY AT LEAST AS DELEGATE AS CLERIDES', AND HE COMMENTED THAT IF KARAMANLIS CANNOT BE OF HELP, ANY PROSPECT FOR THE ARCHBISHOP'S RETURN MOVES EVEN FARTHER INTO THE DISTANCE, SINCE THE NATIONAL GUARD AND THE RIGHTISTS WILL NOT TOLERATE IT.

5. MEMBERS OF CLERIDES CABINET WITH WHOM WE HAVE TALKED SHOW VIOLENT OPPOSITION TO ANY DISCUSSION OF MAKARIOS RETURN. THIS REFLECTS BOTH THEIR FEAR OF ASSASSINATION BY HARDCORE RIGHT AS WELL AS ASSESSMENT POLITICAL SITUATION. IN THEIR VIEW, ANY DISCUSSION OF MAKARIOS RETURN OR ANY MOVE BY CLERIDES TO "LIBERALIZE" HIS CABINET (SUGGESTING RETURN TO OLD ORDER) WOULD IN ALL LIKELIHOOD TRIGGER IRRATIONAL RIGHTWING MOVE AND/OR VIOLENT LURCH BY ARMED MAKARIOS SUPPORTERS. SO LONG AS RIGHTIST/ENOIST COL-  
ORLING REMAINS, HOWEVER, THEY BELIEVE CLERIDES CAN MAKE SOME  
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CHANGES. (AFTER ALL, HE HAS INHERITED BASICALLY A "SAMPSON CABINET" MOST OF WHOSE MEMBERS HAD NO RESPECT FOR SAMPSON AND RESIST ANY IDENTIFICATION AS "SAMPSON'S MEN") THIS REGARD, WE HEAR THAT MININTERIOR PANTELAKIS DIMITRIOU MAY BE ON THE WAY OUT: KYRIAKOS SAVERIADES, NOW MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS AND STILL AN ESAE/DEK STALWART, WANTS THE JOB. REPRODTELY, PATSALIDES HAS AGREED RETAIN HIS PORTFOIL AS MINISTER OF FINANCE, UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS.

6. COMMENT. CLERIDES' IMMEDIATE PROBLEM IS TO HOLD TOGETHER HIS BORAD CONSITUENCY. HE FACES LINGERING SUSPICION BY HARDCORE RIGHT THAT SOMEHOW HE IS STILL PREPARING WAY FOR MAKRIOS' RETURN. HE AND HIS MINISTERS ARE PAINFULLY AWARE OF THIS PROBLE. THEY HAVE WORKED TO DEFUSE IT, WITH LITTLE SUCCESS. WITH CEASEFIRE NOW ESTABLISHED, TIME WOULD APPEAR THEIR BEST ALLY IN OVERCOMING

THIS SUSPICION. HOWEVER, MAKARIOS APPEARS TO BE NUTURING ISSUE OF HIS RETURN IN DELIBERATE EFFORT WEAKEN CLERIDES: CV. HIS JULY 30 LONDON STATEMENT (REPORTED BY BBC) THAT WE WILL RETURN "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE." CLERIDES' EFFORTS, BOTH DIRECTLY AND THROUGH KARAMANLIS, T GET MAARIOS TO SHUT UP APPARENTLY HAVE BEEN TO NO AVAIL.

7. OUR CONTACTS IN AFTERMATH OF COUP NECESSARILY AND PRIMARILY LIMITED TO NICOSIA ESTABLISHMENT. MAKARIOS HAS ALWAYS BEEN STRONG IN THE PROVINCES, AND WE CANNOT YET GAUGE HIS CURRENT POPULARITY THERE. MOST LIKELY IT IS HIGH, BUT REDUCED. WE SUSPECT VILLAGERS ARE KEEPING THEIR HEADS DOWN, WAITING AS ALWAYS FOR SIGNAL FROM NICOSIA.

8. WE WILL CONTINUE CHECK CONCLUSIONS IN THIS CABLE AS WE BROADEN OUR CONTACTS IN COMING WEEKS. AS OF NOW, THOUGH, WE ARE STRUCK BY (1) UNANIMITY OF SENTIMENT AGAINST MAKARIOS RETURN AND (2) IN SAME MEASURE, STRONG DEGREE OF SUPPORT FOR CLERIDES. (3) DIFFICULTY OF CLERIDES' POSITION.

DAVIES

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## Message Attributes

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